

Message Text

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ACTION IO-14

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MCT-01 /110 W

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O P 091123Z SEP 77

FM AMEMBASSY BONN

TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 1286

INFO USMISSION USUN NEW YORK PRIORITY

AMEMBASSY MOSCOW

AMEMBASSY NICOSIA

AMEMBASSY ATHENS

AMEMBASSY ANKARA

USMISSION NATO

AMEMBASSY TEL AVIV

AMEMBASSY CAIRO

AMEMBASSY LONDON

AMEMBASSY DUBLIN

AMEMBASSY PARIS

AMEMBASSY LUXEMBOURG

AMEMBASSY ROME

AMEMBASSY THE HAGUE

AMEMBASSY BRUSSELS

AMEMBASSY COPENHAGEN

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 01 OF 04 BONN 14747

USEEC ALSO FOR EMBASSY

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: AORG UNGA GW

SUBJECT: PRE-32ND UNGA CONSULTATIONS

REFS: (A) STATE 205678; (B) BONN 14727;

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(C) STATE 210104; (D) BRUSSELS 11261

SUMMARY. THE FRG HAS NO FUNDAMENTAL DIFFERENCES WITH THE
US APPROACH TO ISSUES LIKELY TO ARISE AT THE 32ND UNGA.
THE SINGLE EXCEPTION IS A DISAGREEMENT OVER OUR
POSITION ON UN SALARIES. FOREIGN OFFICE DEPUTY
ASSISTANT SECRETARY REDIES INTERSPERSED COMMENTS ON

EMBASSY PRESENTATION WITH A READ-OUT ON HIS TALKS
SEPTEMBER 1-2 WITH THE SOVIETS. END SUMMARY.

1. EMBOFFS MET SEPTEMBER 8 WITH DR. REDIES,
FOREIGN OFFICE DEPUTY ASSISTANT SECRETARY IN CHARGE OF
UN AFFAIRS, AND DIRECTOR OF OFFICE FOR UNGA AND UNSC
AFFAIRS GORENFLOS FOR CONSULTATIONS REQUESTED REFTEL
(A) ON POLITICAL ISSUES BEFORE THE UNGA (CONSULTATIONS
ON ECONOMIC ISSUES WERE REPORTED IN REFTEL B).

MIDDLE EAST

2. REDIES SAID IT WAS CLEAR FROM HIS SEPTEMBER 1-2
DISCUSSIONS IN MOSCOW THAT THE SOVIETS WERE IRRITATED
WITH US POLICY, BELIEVING THAT THE US WAS TRYING TO
EXCLUDE THEM FROM PEACE EFFORTS. SOVIET DELEGATION
CHIEF ISRAELYAN HAD REFERRED IN THIS CONTEXT TO THE SECRETARY'S
PROPOSAL FOR A PRE-PEACE CONFERENCE IN THE US AND TO THE
PRESIDENT'S UPCOMING TALKS ON THE MIDDLE EAST WITH
FOREIGN MINISTERS IN THE US. IN REDIES' VIEW, THIS
SOVIET ATTITUDE ACCOUNTS FOR THE ALLIANCE WITH
ARAFAT -- THE SOVIETS AND THE PLO ARE THE TWO PARTIES
THAT FEEL EXCLUDED. THE SOVIETS HAD SAID THAT IT WAS
UNACCEPTABLE TO ASK THE PLO TO ACCEPT RESOLUTION 242
WITHOUT AN ASSURANCE THAT THEY COULD TAKE PART IN THE
GENEVA TALKS AFTERWARDS.
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3. REDIES MENTIONED THAT HE HAD TOLD THE SOVIETS THAT
HE HAD THE IMPRESSION THE USG WOULD NEVER AGREE TO
ANY AMENDMENT OF RESOLUTION 242. THE SOVIETS HAD
REPLIED THAT THEY, TOO, WERE NOT THINKING IN TERMS OF
AN AMENDMENT.

4. HOW THE MIDDLE EAST ITEM WOULD DEVELOP, IN REDIES'
OPINION, WAS PROBABLY THE LEAST CLEAR POINT FOR THE
FORTHCOMING UNGA. COMPLICATING FACTORS WERE THE TOUGH
ISRAELI ATTITUDE, INCLUDING DYAN'S PROMISE OF PRESENTING
A NEW PEACE PLAN AND THEIR SUGGESTION OF DIRECT
ISRAELI NEGOTIATIONS WITH THE ARABS; GROWING ARAB
NERVOUSNESS AND A DESIRE FOR A MORE ACTIVE US ROLE; AND
THE SOVIET/PLO ELEMENT. REDIES SAID THE FRG EVALUATION
OF THE MIDDLE EAST SITUATION WAS GENERALLY MORE
PESSIMISTIC THAN OURS, AND THE FRG BELIEVED IT IMPORTANT
THAT THE US MOVE ENERGETICALLY TO HEAD OFF A GROWING
CRISIS. SHOULD PEACE EFFORTS IN THE NEXT FEW MONTHS
PRODUCE NO RESULT, THE GERMANS EXPECT A HEATED
DISCUSSION IN THE UNGA IN NOVEMBER, IN WHICH THE SOVIETS
WILL PLAY A PARTICULARLY UNHELPFUL ROLE.

5. WITH REGARD TO THE REPORT OF THE PALESTINE RIGHTS
COMMITTEE, REDIES HAD THE IMPRESSION THAT THE SOVIETS
WILL ALSO OPPOSE A SECURITY COUNCIL DEBATE.

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AMEMBASSY MOSCOW
AMEMBASSY NICOSIA
AMEMBASSY ATHENS
AMEMBASSY ANKARA
USMISSION NATO
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C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 02 OF 04 BONN 14747

CYPRUS

6. COMMENTING ON OUR THIRD TALKING POINT (PARA 9.B, REF A), GORENFLOS SAID THE FRG SHARES OUR OPPOSITION TO
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TURKISH-CYPRIOT REPRESENTATIVES BEING PERMITTED TO ADDRESS THE PLENARY. IN ADDITION, THE GERMANS WOULD LIKE TO PREVENT THE TURKISH-CYPRIOTS FROM SPEAKING IN THE FIRST COMMITTEE. THEY SEE THE NEED, HOWEVER, FOR A SAFETY VALVE AND ARE PREPARED TO SEEK WAYS TO PERMIT THE TURKISH-CYPRIOTS TO EXPRESS THEIR VIEWS. THIS MIGHT MEAN ADDRESSING THE FIRST COMMITTEE, SINCE THEY REFUSE TO APPEAR IN THE SPECIAL POLITICAL COMMITTEE. GORENFLOS (WHO ATTENDED THE EC POLITICAL DIRECTORS' MEETING IN BRUSSELS SEPTEMBER 6-7) INDICATED THAT THE NINE SHARE THIS VIEW.

7. AS FOR THE QUESTION OF PROCEDURAL HANDLING OF THE CYPRUS ISSUE AT THE UNGA, EMBOFF, ON BASIS OF REF (C), NOTED THAT US DESIRED TO CONSULT WITH THE EC NINE BEFORE TAKING A POSITION. GORENFLOS STATED THAT THE BELGIANS HAD NOT BRIEFED THE NINE ON THIS US POSITION AT THE SEPTEMBER 6-7 POLITICAL DIRECTORS' MEETING. NOR DID HE VOLUNTEER THE FACT THAT THE NINE, AS REPORTED IN REF (D), HAD REACHED AGREEMENT ON TACTICSWL HE DID, HOWEVER, COMMENT THAT THE CYPRUS QUESTION HAD BEEN CONSIDERED IN PLENARY FOR THE LAST FOUR YEARS AND THAT IT WAS DANGEROUS TO CHANGE THE STATUS QUO.

8. COMMENTING ON THE SOVIET ATTITUDE TOWARD THE CYPRUS ISSUE, REDIES SAID THE SOVIETS HAD INSISTED THAT THE ISSUE BE INTERNATIONALIZED AND HAD SAID THAT THEY DID NOT UNDERSTAND OUR INSISTENCE ON RELYING ON INTERCOMMUNAL TALKS, WHICH WERE BOUND TO FAIL. THEY SUGGESTED THAT THE SECURITY COUNCIL WAS PERHAPS THE BEST FORUM. THEN, HOWEVER, THE SOVIETS MADE EXACTLY THE CONTRARY POINT BY INDICATING THAT THEY HAD NO PLANS FOR PLAYING AN ACTIVE ROLE IN THE SECURITY COUNCIL AND THAT THEY WOULD
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BE HAPPY IF THE UNSC DEBATE WERE TO END WITH A STATEMENT BY THE PRESIDENT RATHER THAN WITH A RESOLUTION. REDIES SAID HE DETECTED, FOR THE FIRST

TIME, INCREASED SOVIET CONCERN FOR RELATIONS WITH TURKEY. HE BELIEVES MOSCOW IS ATTEMPTING TO TAKE A MORE BALANCED LINE BETWEEN ATHENS AND ANKARA THAN HERETOFORE.

9. OUR DISCUSSION WITH REDIES AND GORENFLOS ON THE CURRENT HANDLING OF THE UNSC CYPRUS DEBATE HAS BEEN OVERTAKEN BY STATE 215859. WE HAVE REPORTED OUR APPROACH TO THE FRG ON THE BASIS OF THAT INSTRUCTION BY SEPTTEL.

SOUTHERN AFRICAN ISSUES

10. GIVEN THE CLOSE CONSULTATIONS BETWEEN THE US AND THE FRG ON RHODESIA AND COOPERATION ON NAMIBIA IN THE CONTACT GROUP, REDIES DID NOT COMMENT IN DETAIL ON THESE ISSUES. HE DID REITERATE THE GERMAN POSITION ON A POSSIBLE CONTRIBUTION TO THE ZIMBABWE DEVELOPMENT FUND (ZDF) -- I.E., THAT A DECISION WAS COMPLICATED BY THE FACT THAT THE GERMANS WILL HAVE AN OBLIGATION TO PROVIDE SIZEABLE FINANCIAL ASSISTANCE TO NAMIBIA WHEN THE TIME COMES. EMBOFF STATED THAT WE CONTINUED TO HOPE FOR GERMAN SUPPORT ON THE ZDF, WHICH WAS AN ESSENTIAL ELEMENT OF THE PROPOSED RHODESIA SETTLEMENT PACKAGE. HE STRESSED THAT IT WOULD BE UNFORTUNATE IF THE SETTLEMENT WERE TO FOUNDER BECAUSE OF INADEQUATE SUPPORT FOR THE ZDF.

11. ON SOVIET ATTITUDES, REDIES SAID MOSCOW WOULD

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AMEMBASSY MOSCOW
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AMEMBASSY ANKARA
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AMEMBASSY LUXEMBOURG
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AMEMBASSY THE HAGUE
AMEMBASSY BRUSSELS
AMEMBASSY COPENHAGEN

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SIMPLY FOLLOW THE POSITION OF THE LIBERATION MOVEMENTS
ON RHODESIA AND NAMIBIA. THEY WOULD NOT BLOCK THE
ESTABLISHMENT OF UNITED NATIONS PEACEKEEPING FORCES
IF SWAPO AND THE POPULAR FRONT WERE AGREEABLE, ALTHOUGH
IT WAS OF COURSE UNLIKELY THAT THEY WOULD SUPPORT SUCH
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A FORCE FINANCIALLY.

12. THE SOVIETS TOLD REDIES THAT, IN THE DEBATE ON
APARTHEID, THEY WOULD ASK THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY TO
TAKE UP THE ALLEGED PLANS OF SOUTH AFRICA TO EXPLODE
AN ATOMIC BOMB AND WILL ATTACK THE WEST FOR COOPERATING
WITH PRETORIA.

PUERTO RICO AND GUAM

13. REDIES EXPRESSED CONTINUING FRG SUPPORT FOR THE US
POSITIONS ON BOTH ISSUES. HE ASSUMED, ON THE BASIS OF
THE RECENT COMMITTEE OF 24 ACTION, THAT PUERTO RICO
WOULD NOT COME UP IN THE UNGA.

KOREA

14. REDIES SAID THAT ISRAELYAN HAD CONFIRMED THAT THE
NORTH KOREANS DID NOT INTEND TO TAKE ANY INITIATIVE FOR
A UNGA DEBATE OR TO RAISE THE QUESTION OF MEMBERSHIP.

HUMAN RIGHTS

15. REDIES AGREED WITH THE DESIRABILITY OF ESTABLISHING THE POST OF HIGH COMMISSIONER FOR HUMAN RIGHTS BUT WAS PESSIMISTIC FOR THE CHANCE OF SUCCESS. HE REFERRED TO CONSULTATIONS GOING ON IN THE WEO AIMED AT ACHIEVING AN ACCEPTABLE RESOLUTION ON HUMAN RIGHTS, AND THOUGHT THAT WHATEVER COULD BE OBTAINED WOULD BE A PLUS. IN THIS CONNECTION, HE MENTIONED THAT FOREIGN MINISTER GENSCHER WOULD AGAIN BRING UP HIS SUGGESTION FOR ESTABLISHMENT OF A HUMAN RIGHTS COURT. THE SOVIETS, MEANWHILE, HAD MADE IT CLEAR THAT THEY WOULD OPPOSE ANYTHING IN THE CONFIDENTIAL

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HUMAN RIGHTS FIELD: "WE FEEL THESE EFFORTS ARE DIRECTED AGAINST US AND WE WILL FIGHT."

16. ON THE DECADE AGAINST RACISM, REDIES SAID OUR POSITIONS WERE ESSENTIALLY THE SAME, ALTHOUGH THERE WAS A NUANCE OF DIFFERENCE IN THE WAY THEY WERE EXPRESSED. THE US POSITION WAS THAT THE US WOULD NOT PARTICIPATE UNLESS ASSURED THAT ZIONISM WOULD NOT BE RAISED, WHEREAS THE EC NINE EXPRESSED WILLINGNESS TO PARTICIPATE IF THEY WERE ASSURED THAT ZIONISM DID NOT COME UP. THE END RESULT WAS THE SAME.

17. THE FRG AGREED FULLY WITH OUR POSITION ON TERRORISM.

UN MANAGEMENT AND BUDGET

18. WHILE REFERRING US TO HIS ECONOMIC COLLEAGUES FOR FULLER DISCUSSION OF THE FRG POSITION, REDIES DID COMMENT ON THE SOVIET VIEWS AS EXPRESSED IN MOSCOW. THE SOVIETS HAD, HE SAID, STRESSED IN EVERY POSSIBLE CONNECTION THEIR INTEREST IN REDUCING UN EXPENSES. REDIES NOTED THAT THE SOVIET DESIRE WAS SIMILAR TO OUR OWN AND OFFERED A PERSONAL VIEW THAT THE WESTERN COUNTRIES --

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C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 04 OF 04 BONN 14747

WHO UP UNTIL NOW HAD NOT DISCUSSED THE ISSUE WITH THE
SOVIETS -- SHOULD CONSIDER THE POSSIBILITY OF WORKING
WITH MOSCOW IN THIS AREA. THE SOVIETS DO NOT WISH TO
BE ALONE IN TAKING THE BLAME OF THE THIRD WORLD FOR A CUT-
BACK IN THE BUDGET. REDIES THOUGHT THE ISSUE OF
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POSSIBLE COOPERATION WITH THE SOVIETS SHOULD NOT BE DIS-
CUSSED IN A LARGE FORUM, BUT HE THOUGHT HE MIGHT DISCUSS
IT BILATERALLY WITH THE US AND THE UK AT AN EARLY
OPPORTUNITY.

19. UN SALARIES. THIS ISSUE PRODUCED THE
SOLE FRG DISAGREEMENT WITH THE US TALKING POINTS. TO
ADHERE TO THE US DESIRE THAT UN SALARIES NOT EXCEED
COMPARABLE US CIVIL SERVICE WAGES BY MORE THAN FIFTEEN
PERCENT WOULD, REDIES MAINTAINED, MAKE IT IMPOSSIBLE
TO HIRE GERMANS FOR UN POSITIONS. REDIES ADDED,

HOWEVER, THAT HE HAD DISCUSSED THE MATTER IN DETAIL WITH ASSISTANT SECRETARY MAYNES IN JUNE AND THAT THE FRG POSITION WAS WELL KNOWN.

HOSTAGES

20. REDIES EXPECTED LITTLE MOVEMENT ON THE FRG INITIATIVE FOR A CONVENTION ON HOSTAGES. HE NOTED THAT THE AD HOC COMMITTEE HAD MET IN AUGUST. HE BELIEVES THE ISSUE WILL REMAIN IN COMMITTEE THROUGHOUT THE UPCOMING SESSION BUT THAT THERE WILL BE A SUGGESTION THAT THE GA RENEW THE MANDATE FOR THE COMMITTEE.
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